

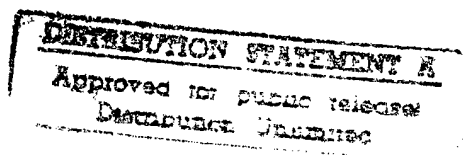
**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CURRENT
INDOCHINESE ISSUES**

September 1987

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Author: Tuyet Cosslett

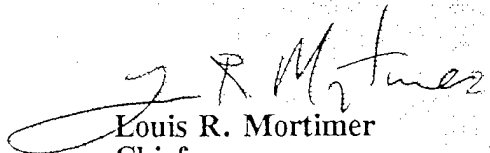


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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave Blank)	2. REPORT DATE <i>Sept 87</i>	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Final		
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE A Selective, Annotated Bibliography on Current Indochinese Issues		5. FUNDING NUMBERS		
6. AUTHOR(S) Ronald Cima Russell Ross Tuyet Cosslett				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Federal Research Division Library of Congress Washington, DC 20540-4840		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER		
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A		10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER		
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Prepared under an Interagency Agreement				
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.		12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE		
13. ABSTRACT <i>Maximum 200 words</i> This bibliography provides selective annotations of open-source material on two current Indochina-related issues: Thailand's political strategy of solving the Cambodian question, and the tactics and organization of Khmer Laotian resistance groups. The bibliography was prepared monthly and incorporates serials and monographs arranged alphabetically by author and title within each section.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS Indochina Insurgencies Cambodia Thailand		15. NUMBER OF PAGES <i>10</i>		
		16. PRICE CODE		
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT SAR	

PREFACE

This bibliography provides selective annotations of open-source material on three current Indochina-related issues:

- * Thailand's political strategy for solving the Cambodian question
- * tactics and organization of Khmer/Laotian resistance groups
- * the war in Cambodia

This bibliography incorporates serials and monographs received in the previous month and is part of a continuing series on the above subjects.

Entries are arranged alphabetically by author or title. Library of Congress call numbers, where appropriate, are included to facilitate the recovery of works cited.

GLOSSARY

ANS	Armee Nationale Sihanoukiste (Sihanoukist National Army)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
DK	Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge)
FUNCINPEC	National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia
KCP	Khmer Communist Party
KPNLF	Khmer People's National Liberation Front (Son Sann)
KPRAF	Khmer People's Revolutionary Armed Forces
KR	Khmer Rouge (Pol Pot)
KUFNCD	Khmer United Front for National Construction and Defense (PRK)
<u>Naeo Na</u>	<u>Progressive</u> [lit: moving in new directions]
PAVN	People's Army of Vietnam
PCCS	Provisional Central Committee for Salvation (KPNLF)
PERMICO	Permanent Military Committee for Coordination (KPNLF and ANS)
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
PRPK	People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, aka KPRP (Khmer People's Revolutionary Party)
RTG	Royal Thai Government

Siam Rat

SPK

· SRV

Su Anakhot

Thai Nation

News Agency of the PRK

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Forward [lit: going toward the
future]

1. THE WAR IN CAMBODIA

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

"Amnesty Accuses Kampuchea of Massive Torture." Bangkok Post, 3 June 1987, p. 1.

Amnesty International has released a report on human rights violations and abuses committed by the Heng Samrin government throughout Cambodia. Many people are arrested arbitrarily and thousands of political prisoners are held without trial and confined for long periods in "coffin-like" cells. Torture is widespread and takes the form of beating with sharp-edged wooden staves and iron bars, whipping with chains and rubber hose, electric shocks, burning with hot irons and near-suffocation with plastic bags. The report claims that 34 prisoners died after interrogation, mainly because of lack of food and medical treatment for injuries caused by the torture.

Awonohara, Susumu. "ASEAN: Seeking a Pacific Perspective." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong), Vol. 137, No. 37, 2 July 1987, pp. 30-31. HC 411 F18

At the ASEAN meeting in Singapore last month, Prince Sihanouk's leave of absence was a subject of discussion and concern. ASEAN foreign ministers emphasized their continued support for the two non-communist factions of the CGDK and their rejection of Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot. They also encouraged Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari has made public a proposed Japanese reconstruction aid for Vietnam following the withdrawal.

Campion, Gilles. "Sihanouk Cancels Meeting with PRK's Hun Sen." Agence France-Presse, 30 July 1987. In FBIS (East Asia), 3 August 1987, pp. 12-13.

According to a reliable source, Prince Norodom Sihanouk sent an invitation to the Vietnamese Embassy in Pyongyang on May 24, suggesting a meeting with a representative of Hanoi and/or Phnom Penh. Vietnam rejected the proposal but Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen agreed to the idea on June 3 and proposed to meet in Pyongyang or on the border between the Soviet Union and Korea. On June 23, Prince Sihanouk conveyed a message to Hun Sen confirming that

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

arrangements were made for a meeting in North Korea. However, the prince cancelled the meeting two days later without giving any reason.

Chongkhadikij, Theh. "Khmer Rouge Will Be Asked to Cooperate." Bangkok Post, 17 June 1987, p. 1.

At a press conference given on the final day of the ASEAN 20th ministerial meeting, Singapore Foreign Minister Suppiah Dhanabalan announces that ASEAN will make an appeal to Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan to remove the causes of friction between his forces and the non-communist troops of the CGDK. ASEAN will also reassure Prince Sihanouk that it is not working toward the return of Pol Pot to power. Mr. Dhanabalan reiterates the importance of the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and the necessity of an independent and neutral Cambodia. Asked about the role of the Soviet Union in the conflict, the foreign minister replies that ASEAN-Soviet relations will be affected by the way in which Moscow helps settle the war.

"DK's Khieu Samphan Speaks at Conference." Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea (in Cambodian), 25 July 1987. In FBIS (East Asia) 28 July 1987, pp. 11-17.

CGDK Vice-President for Foreign Affairs Khieu Samphan, speaking at the International Conference on Cambodia held in Bangkok in July, raises many important questions about Vietnamese and Soviet intentions, diplomacy and strategy in Cambodia. He does not believe that Hanoi will withdraw its troops by 1990 and affirms that the issue depends on both the continued effort of the Cambodian people to carry on the struggle and the international pressure on Vietnam to resolve the war. Khieu Samphan mentions that he is worried about the future of his country which may become "a Lebanon-type Cambodia." He stresses the importance of implementing the policy of "great national union ...with other factions" and "good relations with all the countries in the world." The Khmer Rouge leader insists that

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

"Democratic Kampuchea does not plan to seize control of the country all by itself."

Gray, Denis D. "A Bit of Peace, a Bit of War and a Lot of Hardship." Bangkok Post, 8 June 1987, p. 4.

This report from Phnom Penh describes a city free from direct military threat but still vulnerable to gunfire and explosions. A 9 pm curfew is still in effect. The capital, which was a ghost town a decade ago, has a population of 700,000 including an increasing number of crippled and wounded soldiers who have returned from the battlefields and minefields of the northwestern provinces.

The residents in the city enjoy a better life than the rural people and many believe that the Khmer Rouge will never take power again. The presence of Vietnamese troops and settlers is a growing concern for most Cambodians. In particular, the K-5 Plan to seal the border has created a lot of resentment toward Vietnam, as thousand of soldiers and civilians are trucked away from Phnom Penh to the remote Thai-Cambodian frontier where they face hardship, danger and malaria.

"Heng Samrin on Efforts to Solve Cambodian Issue." Patriot (Delhi), 15 July 1987, p. 7. In FBIS (East Asia), 3 August 1987, pp. 11-12.

PRK President Heng Samrin welcomes India's efforts in finding a solution to the Cambodian conflict. The Phnom Penh leader maintains that any negotiated settlement must be based on two considerations. First, the internal affairs of the country must be settled by the Cambodian people themselves. Heng Samrin expresses his willingness to discuss with "any Khmer opposition individual or group" the implementation of a national reconciliation policy on the basis of the elimination of the Pol Pot clique, and a free general election after Hanoi's troop withdrawal. Second, the international aspect of the problem must deal with both the Vietnamese withdrawal and the end of support for "the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionary forces." Heng Samrin firmly rejects the demand for

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and strongly insists that the Vietnamese pullout must be accompanied by the elimination of the Pol Pot faction.

"Joint Press Release." Hanoi Radio (In Vietnamese), 29 July 1987. In FBIS (East Asia), 29 July 1987, p. N2.

A joint press release, issued at the end of Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja's visit to Ho Chi Minh City from 27 to 29 July 1987, declares that Vietnam "would give positive consideration" to the Indonesian proposal of a "cocktail party," which is understood to mean an informal meeting between the two Cambodian sides held on the basis of equal footing, without preconditions or the attachment of any political label. Vietnam and other concerned countries, the official statement continues, will be invited to join at a later stage.

"Khieu Samphan Pledge on Attacks on ANS Cited." Bangkok Post, 1 July 1987, p. 1. In FBIS (East Asia), 2 July 1987, pp. M2-M3.

Princess Monique, wife of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, reveals that she asked Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan not to attack ANS soldiers and that he has promised her to "do his best." An ANS spokesman confirms that Khmer Rouge forces have stopped attacking the Sihanoukists since the prince's resignation in April.

Kittinaradon, Somphong. "Thai Paper Comments on KPNLF Military Overhaul." Nation (Bangkok), 19 July 1987, p. 11. In FBIS (East Asia), 21 July 1987, p. I5.

A major structural change was undertaken last month to revitalize and strengthen the high command of the KPNLF. Under the new chief-of-staff, General Pok Sam An, four positions of deputy chiefs-of-staff were created: General Pan Thay in charge of military operations, Hing Kunthon responsible for general administration at site II and

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

finance, Chak Bory overseeing logistic affairs, and Dr. Gaffar Abdul Peang-meth in charge of planning and psychological operations. According to the new structure, the four deputies will each have two or three assistant chiefs-of-staff who have not been nominated. General Dien Del, now deputy army commander-in-chief, still controls and nominates the commanders of the five important departments dealing with military affairs. Under the leadership of General Dien Del and General Pok Sam An, during the absence of Commander-in-Chief General Sak Sutsakhan (who left for the United States), a meeting of all the commanders, their deputies and chiefs-of-staff of the newly created nine military regions was convened in mid-July to launch a new campaign. According to the plan, the KPNLF Armed Forces should reach 18,000 by the end of the year.

"Lee Sees Better Prospects for Quick Solution." Bangkok Post, 16 June 1987, p. 1.

In his opening speech at the ASEAN meeting, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew notes that the new economic priorities urged by Moscow and Hanoi may present a good opportunity to solve the Cambodian issue and offers ASEAN's help to find an honorable peace formula that "respects the Kampuchean people's rights as well as the security interests of Vietnam." Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila also acknowledges Vietnam's desire for economic reforms in his statement, but strongly warns the new leadership in Hanoi to "recognise that security is an interdependent process; that it cannot expect to maximise Vietnam's security concerns at the expense of others."

"Nguyen Van Linh Discusses Foreign, Domestic Policy." Nepszabadsag (Budapest), 4 July 1987, p. 5. In FBIS (East Asia), 13 July 1987, pp. N1-N4.

Vietnamese Secretary-General Nguyen Van Linh reminds that the Sixth Party Congress calls for a normalization of relations with China and a political solution to the Cambodian problem. In a wide-ranging interview, he repeats

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

the demand that the Pol Pot clique be excluded from any settlement. As for the Vietnamese withdrawal, Nguyen Van Linh declares categorically that "It is certain that Vietnamese troops will withdraw completely from Cambodia by 1990." With regard to Vietnamese-Chinese relations, the new secretary-general does not perceive a direct conflict of interest between Hanoi and Beijing, but rather a controversy over a third country, namely Cambodia.

"Pham Hung Interviewed on Cambodian Issue." Patriot (Delhi), 16 July 1987, p. 7. In FBIS (East Asia), 3 August 1987, pp. N5-N6.

In a press interview in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Hung says that "India should be one of the guarantors for an international agreement on Kampuchea," recalling New Delhi's role in the implementation of the 1954 and 1960-61 Geneva accords on Indochina and Laos respectively. The newly elected prime minister states that the elimination of the Pol Potists constitutes the "main stumbling block" to a political solution of the war in Cambodia. According to Pham Hung, the Phnom Penh government headed by Heng Samrin is gaining strength in all fields and the Vietnamese troop withdrawal will be complete by 1990.

Richburg, Keith B. "Hopes for Accord on Cambodia Dim." Washington Post, 20 June 1987, pp. A15, A20.

The recent change of leadership in Hanoi has caused a negative reaction among American and Asian diplomats meeting in Singapore in June. According to Secretary of State George Shultz, the Vietnamese election of conservative leaders to powerful government posts "is a rather discouraging matter" and does not indicate an opportunity for a negotiated settlement of the Cambodian problem. Asian diplomats are less pessimistic, however, and seem to believe that "the general trend toward a favorable solution is still there," as Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja expresses it in an interview.

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

"Sihanouk Says CGDK As Bad As Vietnamese." Bangkok Post, 16 June 1987, p. 2.

In an introduction to a document on human rights, Prince Sihanouk writes that his country is likely to become a Vietnamese province or fall under the Khmer Rouge again. In either case, the prince thinks that the people of Cambodia will condemn the CGDK which "oppress, despoil, and bully our own citizens in the refugee camps."

Sricharachanya, Paisal. "Costly Containment." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong), Vol. 137, No. 28, 9 July 1987, pp. 34-35. HC 411 F18

The article gives the Thai interpretation of the strategic Chong Bok Operation which ended in April. According to the Thai military, the struggle for Chong Bok, described as the largest conventional warfare action on the Thai-Cambodian border, was necessary to regain territorial sovereignty and eliminate a dangerous Vietnamese threat of occupation. On June 24th during a trip to the area, senior diplomats and journalists were given an unexpected briefing on the battle. The Thai commanding general told the visiting party that the Vietnamese campaign to control the Chong Bok Pass was the first step of a larger plan to annex 17 northeastern Thai provinces that would become part of the Indochina Federation.

"SRV Envoy Criticizes Cambodia Conference." Nation (Bangkok), 28 July 1987, p. 5. In FBIS (East Asia) 28 July 1987, p. M1.

Vietnamese Ambassador Le Mai charges that the Third International Conference on Cambodia only benefits the Pol Pot clique. A resolution of the two-day meeting calls for a complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. The SRV envoy to Bangkok denounces the CGDK eight-point peace proposal, stating that it is intended to bring the Pol Pot group back to power in Phnom Penh.

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

Tasaneeyavej, Banyat. "Sihanouk May Not Complete 'Holiday'." Bangkok Post, 17 June 1987, p. 3.

Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila expects Prince Norodom Sihanouk to resume his position as President of the CGDK before his one-year leave expires. The Thai minister discloses that ASEAN representatives have contacted the prince and urged him to reconsider his resignation. With regard to the "new" four-point proposal put forward by the U.N. Secretary General's special envoy Rafeeuddin Ahmad, Foreign Minister Siddhi comments that the four points do not constitute a peace plan but are simply considered as "new elements" about which he refuses to elaborate. The four points are: a unilateral, credible and partial withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, national reconciliation leading to a quadra-partite government, an eventual total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, and self-determination.

Tasker, Rodney. "Khmer Bandits Trouble Thais." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hongkong), Vol. 137, No. 28, 9 July 1987, pp. 32-33. HC 411 F18

Since April, gangs of Khmer bandits have engaged in crimes, robberies, rapes and shootings of Thai civilians and soldiers along the Thai-Cambodian border. The Khmer bandits are suspected of belonging to the KPNLF forces which have been in disarray for the past 18 months because of conflicts within the leadership. To deal with the bandit problem, Thai authorities have set up a task force which is led by the Army's Burapha field force and includes units of the Border Patrol Police, civilian police and paramilitary groups.

"Thai Paper Says Sihanouk Refuses to Go to UN." Bangkok World, 5 August 1987, p. 24. In FBIS (East Asia), 6 August 1987, p. 11.

In a note written in Pyongyang, Prince Sihanouk announces that he will not attend the next session of the U.N.

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON CURRENT INDOCHINESE ISSUES
September 1987

General Assembly and will refuse to represent the Khmer Rouge and the KPNLF because of their human rights abuses. The prince adds, however, that speaking "as the former king of Kampuchea" who is concerned about his people and his country, he will support any plans or proposals formulated by U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar.